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99TH CONGRESS LEGISLATIVE RECORD

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ALONG WITH

BRIEF HISTORICAL AND OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION CONCERNING THE COMMITTEE

JUNE 10, 1987

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Committee on Ways and Means in the 99th Congress, which convened January 3, 1985, and adjourned sine die October 18, 1986, was engaged in the development of legislation of great importance to the Nation's tax system, its economy, and the well-being of its citizens.

As set forth in detail in the ensuing pages, a total of 1,568 bills was referred to the committee in its major fields of Federal taxation, the several national Social Security programs, and foreign trade and tariffs. This figure represents 20.8 percent of all the public bills introduced in the House of Representatives in the 99th Congress.

In terms of specific activities in the 99th Congress, the Committee on Ways and Means completed action on H.R. 3838, the most comprehensive tax legislation since enactment of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, after a year-long comprehensive review by the committee and subcommittees in public hearings and markups. The bill broadens the tax base and lowers tax rates, eliminates many tax shelters, restructures capital formation provisions, shifts a portion of the tax burden from individuals to corporations, and enacts a strengthened minimum tax.

After public hearings, the Committee on Ways and Means adopted budget reconciliation legislation, H.R. 3128, which included numerous revenue provisions, including the Internal Revenue Service budget for fiscal year 1986; cigarette excise tax; coal excise tax for the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund; tax treatment of railroad retirement benefits; and Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation premiums. The legislation was later added to H.R. 3500, the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act.

The Committee on Ways and Means' fiscal year 1987 budget reconciliation recommendations were incorporated into title X of H.R. 5300, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1986, which reduced the deficit pursuant to directives in the fiscal year 1987 budget resolution. The committee included the following tax-related provisions in Public Law 99-509: penalty for not withholding; increased funds for IRS enforcement; and taxation on the sale of Conrail.

The committee approved several significant tax measures in H.R. 6, the Water Resources Conservation, Development, and Infrastructure Improvement and Rehabilitation Act (Public Law 99-662). The act imposes an excise tax of 0.04 percent of the value of commercial cargo loaded or unloaded at certain U.S. harbors or channels to or from a commercial vessel. Revenues from the tax would be deposited into a Harbor Maintenance Trust Fund in the Treasury, and be available for harbor development. The legislation also increased the inland waterways fuels taxes.

The committee approved H.R. 1869, a bill to repeal the contemporaneous recordkeeping requirements added by the Deficit Reduc-

tion Act of 1984, which was signed into law on May 24, 1985 (Public Law 99-44). H.R. 1869 was made revenue neutral by a reduction in the amount of investment tax credit and depreciation for luxury automobiles.

The committee considered and favorably reported H.R. 2475, to determine the tax treatment of imputed interest on deferred payment of property, which was subsequently signed into law on October 11, 1985 (Public Law 99-121). The legislation provides a rate used to test the adequacy of stated interest on seller financing. The depreciation recovery period for real property (other than low-income housing) was lengthened from 18 years to 19 years, effective for property placed in service after May 8, 1985. The act also provides that loans of $90,000 or less made by a taxpayer age 65 or older to a "continuing care facility," pursuant to a "continuing care contract," are exempt from the below-market loan rules enacted in the Tax Reform Act of 1984 and treated as advance payments of fees, and not loans.

Legislative Review of Trust Funds

A. *Superfund.*—The committee approved title IV of H.R. 2817, legislation to amend the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 (Superfund). This legislation, as amended by the Senate, was included in H.R. 2005, which was signed into law October 17, 1986 (Public Law 99-499). The revenue provisions provide $8.5 billion in Superfund revenues over 5 years. General revenue provides $1.25 billion ($250 million of general revenue appropriations authorized for the Superfund of each of fiscal years 1987-1991) and interest and recoveries are estimated to raise $0.3 billion each. The Post-Closure Liability Trust Fund and tax were repealed retroactively. The agreement also provides for a Leaking Underground Storage Tank (LUST) Trust Fund funded by a tax on fuels of 0.1 cent per gallon for 5 years to raise $500 million.

B. *Highway Trust Fund.*—The committee amended H.R. 3129, the Surface Transportation and Uniform Relocation Assistance Act of 1986, concerning the provisions within its jurisdiction, including a 5-year extension of prior law highway-related excise taxes and exemptions through September 30, 1993, and a 5-year extension of authority to spend from the Highway Trust Fund (through September 30, 1993). A conference report was never filed.

C. *Inland Waterways Trust Fund.*—Refer to the Water Resources Conservation Development and Infrastructure Improvement and Rehabilitation (H.R. 6), listed above.

Expiring Provisions

The committee continued to review expiring provisions in the tax law. In 1985, several bills addressed the extensions of expiring provisions on a temporary basis: H.R. 3918 (Public Law 99-181), H.R. 3981 (Public Law 99-189), H.R. 3992, and H.R. 4006 (Public Law 99-201). In 1986, the following expiring tax provisions were incorporated in H.R. 3838: incremental research tax credit, targeted jobs tax credit, attorneys' fees, moratorium on the Tax Reform Act of 1976, net operating loss carryover rules, moratorium on Code section 861 research allocation rule, rules for spouses of Vietnam MIA's, mora-

torium on faculty housing regulations, barriers to the handicapped, residential solar energy tax credit, business energy tax credits, credit for fuels from nonconventional sources, neat alcohol fuels and taxicab fuels tax exemption, exclusions for education assistance programs, qualified group legal plans, and dependent care assistance programs. The cigarette excise tax was made permanent at 16 cents per pack in the budget reconciliation bill (H.R. 5300). The following provisions expired: residential and geothermal energy tax credits.

Subcommittee on Trade

The Subcommittee on Trade considered numerous trade, tariff, and customs legislative measures during the 99th Congress, culminating with the passage by the House of H.R. 4800, the "Trade and International Economic Policy Reform Act of 1986," a comprehensive trade policy reform bill. In addition, the subcommittee maintained active oversight over the executive trade agencies, the trade agreements program, and trade negotiations. Members and staff were in constant touch with trade agency officials, private sector representatives, and foreign delegations on trade issues and the operation of trade laws and programs.

The subcommittee held oversight and legislative hearings on a wide variety of trade and customs issues, including the trade policy agenda and outlook for 1986, fiscal year 1986 budget authorizations, the results of the GATT Ministerial meeting in Punta del Este, Uruguay, the International Drug Enforcement Act, trade adjustment assistance, and most-favored-nation trading status for Romania, Hungary, and the People's Republic of China. The subcommittee also conducted hearings concerning trade issues in particular industry sectors such as Japanese voluntary restraints on auto exports to the United States, current conditions in the textile and apparel industries, natural resource subsidies, and the Telecommunications Trade Act of 1985. The subcommittee also maintained oversight of the development of the Harmonized Commodity Classification system, a new international system for the customs classification of goods in international trade, and changes that would be required in the U.S. system through legislation.

The major legislative activity of the Subcommittee on Trade during the 99th Congress was development of a bill, H.R. 4750, the Comprehensive Trade Policy Reform Act of 1986, introduced by Chairman Rostenkowski and other Committee on Ways and Means cosponsors, and reported to the House on May 6, 1986. This bill was subsequently incorporated as titles I, II, and VIII of H.R. 4800, the "Trade and International Economic Policy Reform Act of 1986," which passed the House on May 22, 1986.

The bill was developed after the subcommittee held 8 days of hearings with administration and private sector witnesses on the operation of the basic trade statutes, proposals for administrative and legislative improvements, and the need for additional authorities.

Based on the hearing material and subsequent consultations between Members, staff, and private sector interests, the subcommittee developed, under the leadership of Chairman Gibbons, legislation during the spring of 1986 focusing on extensive amendments

to strengthen all the trade statutes providing U.S. industry and workers relief from injurious foreign unfair trade practices or injurious import competition and to toughen U.S. responses to foreign trade barriers. The bill amended the countervailing and antidumping laws and provided a new discipline for natural resource input subsidies.

The bill also provided the President extended trade agreement authorities to achieve various objectives in multilateral or bilateral negotiations, including telecommunications products and services. The bill also provided for improvements in intellectual property rights protection.

In addition to omnibus trade reform legislation, the Subcommittee on Trade and full Committee on Ways and Means reported several other key trade measures.

The subcommittee and full committee reported H.R. 1562, a bill which established permanent quotas by a statutory formula with few product exemptions on textile and apparel imports from all countries except Canada and the European Community; imposed 8-year global quotas on nonrubber footwear imports; mandated the President to negotiate voluntary product restraint agreements with major copper producing countries; and required study and reports on foreign labor practices. The bill passed the House on October 10, 1985, and the Senate on November 13, 1985. The attempt to override the Presidential veto of the bill failed in the House on August 6, 1986.

With respect to telecommunications, H.R. 3131, sequentially referred from the Committee on Energy and Commerce, was reported by the Committee on Ways and Means April 15, 1986, with an amendment in the form of a substitute. The bill set forth negotiating objectives and provided trade agreement authorities for achieving more open foreign markets for international trade in telecommunications products and services. These provisions were incorporated as title II of H.R. 4800.

The subcommittee and full committee reported H.R. 2268, approving and implementing in U.S. law the bilateral trade agreement establishing a free trade area between the United States and Israel. The major provisions of the agreement eliminates all tariffs on two-way trade over a 10-year phase-in period. The bill passed the House on May 7, 1985, passed the Senate on May 23, and was approved on June 11, 1985.

The subcommittee also approved sections 13001-13009 of H.R. 3128, the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985, to reauthorize worker and firm TAA programs for 6 years until September 30, 1991. Various amendments further emphasized worker job search and training and eliminated financial assistance to firms. The legislation was enacted on April 7, 1986.

Fees for customs processing of passengers, vessels, aircraft, and vehicles were also included in the Consolidated Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985 (H.R. 3128), reported by the Committee on Ways and Means on July 31, 1985, and were enacted on April 7, 1986. Additional fees for the processing of formal merchandise entries were incorporated in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (H.R. 5300), which was enacted on October 16, 1986.

The committee approved a total authorization level of $772,141,000 for the U.S. Customs Service for fiscal year 1986 as part of the Consolidated Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985. This amount was increased to $1,001,180,000 for fiscal year 1987 by the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986.

The subcommittee developed the Customs Enforcement Act of 1986. Reported by the full committee as H.R. 5410 on August 15, 1986, the bill made a number of amendments to the Tariff Act of 1930 to strengthen Customs' enforcement capabilities to detect and apprehend smugglers and to interdict narcotics. It also gave the President authority to take trade actions against uncooperative drug source nations. The act was incorporated in the comprehensive Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 (H.R. 5484 as amended), enacted on October 27, 1986.

The subcommittee took action on certain provisions of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. H.R. 4868, as reported by the Committee on Ways and Means on June 16, 1986, included among broader sanctions against South Africa the prohibition of imports of uranium ore and oxide, coal, iron and steel, textiles, military articles, agricultural products and food, sugar, and products of South African parastatal organizations. Congress overrode a Presidential veto of more comprehensive import sanctions passed by the House and Senate and enacted on October 2, 1986.

After receiving sequential referral from the Committee on Energy and Commerce on sections 6 and 7 of the Motor Vehicle Safety Authorization Act of 1986 (H.R. 2248), the committee favorably reported such provisions with amendments on September 29, 1986. Section 6 provided a mechanism for the safe conversion of imported "grey market" vehicles so that they meet U.S. safety standards; section 7 is directed at the Japanese practice of not allowing U.S. automobile companies to self-certify that their vehicles meet Japanese safety standards. In the absence of a declaration that such self-certification is acceptable in Japan, section 7 would require a certification system for imported Japanese cars in the United States which is similar to that accorded in Japan to U.S. exported cars. This bill died in conference and did not become law.

H.J. Res. 625 dealing with the Compact of Free Association Between the United States and the Government of Palau was reported by the Committee on Ways and Means on September 29, 1986. It included among the economic benefits granted by the United States under the Compact duty-free treatment of all imports from Palau which meet specific rule-of-origin requirements and do not exceed "competitive need" limits, except for certain statutory product exclusions and a duty-free quota on canned tuna.

Finally, during each session of the Congress, the Subcommittee on Trade holds public hearings and reports to the full committee miscellaneous tariff and trade bills proposing temporary duty reductions, suspensions of duties, or changes in classification relating to individual products or import entries. These bills are carefully considered in light of compelling circumstances of inadequate domestic supply, unusually demanding conditions, or long-run changes in market conditions warranting special legislation. The legislative activity devoted to miscellaneous bills provides an im-

portant oversight tool for reviewing the tariff system and its impact on individual competitive situations.

During the 99th Congress, the subcommittee favorably reported over 60 miscellaneous tariff bills which were incorporated as title VIII of H.R. 4800. Among the tariff amendments were provisins repealing the prohibition on imports of Russian furskins; allowing duty-free entry of personal effects and equipment of participants and officials in the 10th Pan American Games; and implementing the Nairobi Protocol to the Florence Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials.

In the closing days of the Congress, the House passed an omnibus miscellaneous tariff bill (H.R. 5686), which contained a number of noncontroversial provisions from title VIII of H.R. 4800 as well as additional noncontroversial provisions introduced subsequent to House passage of H.R. 4800, providing for permanent duty-free entry, suspension of duties, and classification changes on a number of products. No action was taken in the Senate.

Subcommittee on Oversight

Hearings and oversight activities were conducted on a wide range of subjects as part of the Subcommittee on Oversight's responsibility to evaluate the impact of present-law tax rules and programs within the committee's jurisdiction. Many of the issues and subjects addressed by the subcommittee resulted in legislative reform by the full committee, or administration change by the agency involved.

The subcommittee conducted an extensive review of the IRS administration of the Federal tax system. In addition to monitoring the IRS on an ongoing basis, hearings were conducted on the following subjects: tax payment posting problems in the Philadelphia IRS center; policies and procedures used by the IRS in granting tax-exempt status to private schools; IRS plans for service center operations in 1986; the 1986 IRS tax filing season; the IRS's art advisory panel; the administration's fiscal years 1986 and 1987 budget proposals relating to the IRS; and money laundering operations and related enforcement problems. In addition, subcommittee members and staff made inspection visits to the IRS Service Center in Fresno, Calif., and to the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Glenco, Ga.

The subcommittee also held hearings on a variety of tax policy issues including: tax aspects of mergers and acquisitions; tax-exempt multifamily housing bonds; use of tax refund offsets to collect nontax Federal debts; high-income taxpayers and related partnership tax issues; the impact and effectiveness of the Caribbean Basin Initiative; the costs and availability of liability insurance; and compliance with the Federal gasoline excise tax laws and related enforcement efforts.

Finally, the subcommittee continued its series of joint hearings with the Subcommittee on Social Security broadly reviewing retirement income security in the United States. The Subcommittee on Oversight maintained its historic interest in issues concerning the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation, holding a joint hearing to examine problems resulting from pension plan underfunding.

Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures

The committee, through its Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, initiated a series of hearings designed to study the current law treatment of the various passthrough entities established or facilitated by the Internal Revenue Code. The first hearing explored a broad overview of the policy issues in the area of taxation of passthrough entities. The second hearing discussed certain specific passthrough areas, including regulated investment companies (RIC's), real estate investment trusts (REIT's), business development companies, and real estate mortgage investment conduits (REMIC's), that were included in tax reform. In those hearings, the subcommittee developed a substantial record for its consideration in the next Congress.

Subcommittee on Health

Many changes and refinements to Medicare part A (hospital insurance for the elderly) and part B (supplementary medical insurance) were enacted during the 99th Congress. Much of this legislation provided refinements to the Medicare part A prospective payment system provided for in the Social Security Amendments of 1983, Public Law 98-21. Also enacted were various changes and limitations in the method of reimbursement under part B. In addition, new Medicare benefits were introduced and current benefits expanded. Furthermore, legislation was enacted to insure continued access to employer-based health insurance for those who would otherwise have lost coverage. During the 99th Congress, the Subcommittee on Health conducted 14 hearings to provide it background information on legislative initiatives pending before the subcommittee.

The Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985 (COBRA), Public Law 99-272, extended the transition to national DRG rates for all prospective payment system (PPS) hospitals, except those located in the State of Oregon. Therefore, the 3-year transition period, during which a declining portion of the total prospective payment will be based on a hospital's historical costs and an increasing portion will be based on a combination of regional and national rates, was increased to 4 years. Other major changes under part A in Public Law 99-272 included revision of the hospital wage index, a reduction in the indirect teaching adjustment, and a limitation on the direct medical education payments under PPS. As a result of insufficient action by the Secretary of Health and Human Services to effectively compensate hospitals serving a disproportionate share of low-income patients, COBRA provided for additional payment amounts to hospitals serving this type of population meeting certain criteria.

In response to concerns surrounding the denial of medical care to patients in emergency situations, Public Law 99-272 placed certain responsibilities on Medicare participating hospitals with emergency departments to provide a medical screening examination and treatment for any individual with a medical emergency.

COBRA extended the freeze on payments to, and charges of, nonparticipating physicians through December 31, 1986. During the month of April, physicians were able to change their participation

status. Participating physicians received a 4.15 percent prevailing charge increase effective May 1. Future participation cycles will begin in January beginning in 1987.

Furthermore, COBRA provided that Medicare coverage would be extended on a mandatory basis to all new State and local government employees hired on or after March 31, 1986. States would be permitted to extend Medicare coverage (without extending coverage under Social Security cash benefits) to those hired prior to April 1986 by voluntary agreement with the Secretary.

Other major provisions in Public Law 99-272 included: repealing the sunset provision thereby making the hospice benefit a permanent part of the Medicare program; provided for at least five demonstration programs to determine whether and how it would be cost effective to include preventive services in the Medicare program; and provided a limitation on the part A penalty for late enrollment.

Public Law 99-272 included a provision which requires employers with 20 or more employees, who maintain an employer provider group health plan, to allow certain employees and their family members to remain in the group health plan at their own expense when they would have otherwise lost their coverage. Employees, voluntarily or involuntarily terminated, may continue in the health plan, at the employee's cost of no more than 102 percent of the applicable premium, for up to 18 months, while widowed divorced and legally separated spouses and dependents may continue for up to 3 years.

The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (OBRA), Public Law 99-509, provided for refinements and adjustments to the Medicare program, with special emphasis to payments under part A. Capital related payments for PPS hospitals, except sole community hospitals, would be reduced by an increasing percentage for fiscal years 1987 through 1989. With some adjustments applied, hospitals located in Puerto Rico will be included in PPS. Several provisions were adopted that would increase hospital payments to rural hospitals. Provisions providing for an improvement in the classification and payment system to better account for severity of illness and case complexity were also included. Except for certain hospitals receiving disproportionate share payments, periodic interim payments (PIP) to PPS hospitals would be eliminated. The legislation provided that 95 percent of all "clean" Medicare claims submitted for both parts A and B are required to be paid within 30 days after receipt by the intermediaries and carriers. Major improvements relating to the quality of care, including requiring a notice of hospital discharge rights for beneficiaries, and the development of a uniform needs assessment instrument to evaluate the need for post-hospital care were also part of Public Law 509.

Public Law 99-509 provided all physicians under part B a 3.2 percent prevailing charge update in January, 1987. The differential established in Public Law 99-272 between the prevailing charges of a participating and nonparticipating physician will become permanent. Maximum allowable actual charge limits for nonparticipating physicians were established for a 4-year period. In addition, OBRA places limits on payments to and charges of physicians performing surgical and anesthesia services connected with cataract surgery.

The Secretary is authorized to establish payment levels for other procedures, under the inherent reasonableness authority with specified criteria applied, based on considerations other than the actual, customary, and prevailing charge.

Several changes in the End Stage Renal Disease Program were made: the number of networks was reduced to no less than 17 and funded through a 50-cent reduction of facility rate payments. Their responsibilities were increased to include medical review of the facilities. A national registry is to be established and standards for reuse of dialysis filters are mandated. In addition, immunosuppressive drugs furnished to a transplant patient within 1 year of a transplant are now covered.

Other major provisions included in Public Law 99-509 were: Medicare participating health maintenance organizations amendments; revised and expanded coverage to services furnished by certified registered nurse anesthetists and physician assistants; and vision care and occupational thereapy services were expanded. In response to the large increase in the Medicare part A deductible, Congress set the calendar year 1987 deductible at $520. Without intervention, the deductible would have increased to $572 in 1987 from $492 in 1986.

Subcommittee on Social Security

During the 99th Congress the committee approved several legislative changes in the Social Security program. The majority of these revisions were incorporated in two major pieces of deficit reduction legislation, the Consolidated Omnibus Reconcilation Act of 1985 (COBRA) (Public Law 99-272) and the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1986 (OBRA) (Public Law 99-509). Through its Subcommittee on Social Security, the committee conducted substantial oversight of the management and administration of the Social Security retirement and disability programs.

With respect to legislation, COBRA included a variety of minor and technical legislative changes that the committee had originally approved in the form of H.R. 2005. Additionally, Public Law 99-272 contained provisions to: (*a*) exempt wages paid retired Federal judges performing active duty for the purposes of the FICA taxation and the Social Security earnings limitation; and (*b*) to protect certain Social Security beneficiaries who receive overpayments through the electronic direct deposit system.

The Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-509) included two significant Social Security provisions developed and approved by the committee. The first eliminated the requirement that the annual rise in the Consumer Price Index must exceed 3 percent in order for a cost-of-living adjustment to be paid to Social Security beneficiaries. Under the new law, a cost-of-living adjustment will be paid in any year in which there is a measurable increase in consumer inflation. Secondly, Public Law 99-509 removes from the States the responsibility for collecting and depositing with the Federal Government Social Security contributions on behalf of their political subdivisions. All State and local entities will now deposit their Social Security contributions directly to the Federal Government on a time schedule that parallels the treatment of private employers.

The Emergency Deficit Reduction and Balanced Budget Act of 1985 (Public Law 99–177) contained a provision to remove the receipts and disbursements of the Social Security trust funds from the unified budget, and to prohibit consideration of legislative changes in Social Security as part of the congressional budget process. Removing the Social Security trust funds from the unified budget was the subject of Subcommittee on Social Security hearings in early 1985, and the provision contained in Public Law 99–177 parallels in certain respects legislation the subcommittee had approved on September 19, 1985, as part of H.R. 3470.

Following extensive hearings held by the Subcommittee on Social Security, the committee reported H.R. 5050, legislation to establish the Social Security Administration as an independent agency and to prohibit the Secretary of the Treasury from disinvesting the Social Security trust funds as a means of circumventing the statutory limit on the public debt. The independent agency proposal was a result of a review conducted by the Subcommittee on Social Security in both the 98th and 99th Congresses of alternative proposals to fundamentally reorganize the administration of Social Security to restore continuity, stability, and excellence to the management of the program. The disinvestment provisions resulted from an oversight investigation undertaken by the Subcommittee on Social Security in the fall of 1985 that determined the Secretary of the Treasury has unilaterally cancelled bonds issued to the Social Security trust funds as a method of extending the amount of time the Treasury could continue to operate without incurring debt in excess of the statutory ceiling. H.R. 5050 passed the House but was not considered by the Senate before the adjournment of the 99th Congress.

During the 99th Congress the Subcommittee on Social Security held several hearings regarding the quality of service the Social Security Administration provides to the public. The subcommittee hearings particularly focused on the effects on public service that would result from the closure of substantial numbers of agency field offices as well as the ramifications of major reductions in overall agency staffing levels. In addition, the subcommittee held hearings on the administration's progress in implementing the major changes made by the Social Security Disability Benefits Reform Act of 1984 (Public Law 98–460) and current problems related to the hearings and appeals process in the disability program.

In conjunction with the Subcommittee on Oversight, the Subcommittee on Social Security began in the 99th Congress a major review of retirement income security in the United States. A number of hearings were held in this area, both on the broad question of the adequacy of Federal retirement income policies as well as on more specific issues, such as the problem of private pension plan underfunding. This review covers a wide range of cross-cutting issues and has potential implications for many programs under the jurisdiction of the committee, including Social Security and the many provisions in the Internal Revenue Code that encourage private pension, savings, and deferred compensation arrangements.

Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

During the 99th Congress, the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation pursued its legislative and oversight responsibilities pertaining to the public assistance and unemployment compensation programs under its jurisdiction and considered President Reagan's budget reduction proposals. Oversight activities were almost always related to specific legislation and/or budget reduction proposals. Below, the hearings held by the subcommittee and the legislative action taken are briefly described.

During the 99th Congress, the subcommittee held 14 hearings on issues affecting the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. These hearings focused on: the AFDC quality control system; children in poverty; teenage pregnancy; work, education, and training opportunities for welfare recipients; and homelessness.

In April 1986, the Congress enacted the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985 (Public Law 99-272) which included AFDC amendments relating to: the AFDC quality control system; recovery of excess funds for incompleted automated AFDC systems; counting certain payments to Indians as income; and third-party liability collections. In October of 1986, Congress enacted Public Law 99-509 which includes three additional AFDC and child support enforcement amendments: targeting the use of the income and eligibility verification system; annually calculating the Federal percentage of AFDC expenditures; and prohibiting the retroactive modification of child support arrearages.

In November 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1985 was enacted (Public Law 99-603). The act includes one AFDC amendment: it provides that newly legalized aliens will be disqualified from the receipt of AFDC for a period of 5 years from the date they acquire legal status under the act. In addition, in October of 1986, Public Law 99-570 was enacted, providing for greater outreach efforts on the part of AFDC and SSI programs to assure that benefits are made available to the homeless.

During the 99th Congress, the subcommittee held a hearing on proposals to improve the supplemental security income (SSI) program. Two bills which included SSI amendments became law. In April 1986, the Congress enacted Public Law 99-272 which included an SSI amendment relating to State supplementation under the SSI program and an amendment preserving benefit status for disabled widows and widowers. In November 1986, the Employment Opportunities for Disabled Americans Act was enacted (Public Law 99-643). This act makes the SSI 1619 program permanent; repeals the SSI trial work period and extended period of eligibility provisions; provides for reinstatement to SSI for those leaving 1619 status; allows movement from 1619(b) Medicaid-only status to cash benefit status; requires medical condition reviews; requires continuation of Medicaid for certain SSI recipients; provides for payment of benefits due deceased recipients; and revises the treatment of certain couples in medical institutions.

During the 99th Congress, the subcommittee held one hearing on amendments to the foster care and adoption assistance programs. In addition, in April 1986, Congress enacted Public Law 99-272

which included the following four adoption assistance and foster care amendments: extension of Medicaid to certain children in adoption assistance and foster care programs; extension of the ceiling on AFDC foster care funds and of State authority to transfer funds to child welfare services; extension of authority for AFDC foster care payments on behalf of children placed in foster care under a voluntary placement agreement; and a 2-year independent living initiative.

In October 1986, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 was enacted. Public Law 99-514 repealed the itemized deduction for adoption expenses and amended title VI-E of the Social Security Act to allow for Federal matching of State reimbursement of nonrecurring expenses in the adoption of special needs children. The act also eliminated the requirement for detailed recordkeeping as a condition for obtaining the exclusion from income of foster care payments.

During the 99th Congress, the subcommittee held five hearings on Unemployment Compensation issues. The hearings focused on extension of the Federal supplemental compensation program, alternative uses of the unemployment compensation trust funds to assist dislocated workers, and on the extended unemployment compensation program.

In April 1985, the Congress enacted Public Law 99-15, phasing out the Federal supplemental compensation program. The following year, the Congress enacted Public Law 99-272 which allows supplemental compensation benefits for certain individuals and permits reciprocal withholding of overpaid unemployment compensation benefits. Finally, in October 1986, the Congress enacted Public Law 99-595, which extended for 5 years the exclusion from Federal unemployment tax of wages paid to certain alien farmworkers.

During the 99th Congress, the subcommittee held a hearing on the railroad unemployment insurance program to review the recommendations of the Railroad Unemployment Compensation Committee. After enacting several short-term extensions of the authority for the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Account to borrow from the Railroad Retirement Account, Congress authorized a permanent extension of this authority in Public Law 99-272. A repayment tax of 3.5 percent was established in the event that such loans are not repaid in the year in which they are made.

II. JURISDICTION OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

U.S. Constitution

Article I, Section 7, of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

> All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Rule X, Clause 1, Rules of the House of Representatives

Rule X, Clause 1, of the Rules of the House of Representatives, in effect during the 99th Congress, provides for the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, as follows:

> (v) Committee on Ways and Means.
>
> (1) Customs, collection districts, and ports of entry and delivery.
>
> (2) Reciprocal trade agreements.
>
> (3) Revenue measures generally.
>
> (4) Revenue measures relating to the insular possessions.
>
> (5) The bonded debt of the United States (subject to the last sentence of clause 4(g) of this rule).[1]
>
> (6) The deposit of public moneys.
>
> (7) Transportation of dutiable goods.
>
> (8) Tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts.
>
> (9) National social security, except (A) health care and facilities programs that are supported from general revenues as opposed to payroll deductions and (B) work incentive programs.

Brief Discussion of Committee's Jurisdiction

The foregoing recitation of the bare provisions of House Rule X, clause 1, paragraph (v), does not convey to the layman the real meaning of the features of the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means. In order that this may be more readily appreciated, this jurisdiction may be described as follows: [2]

(1) *Federal revenue measures generally.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has the responsibility for raising all of the revenue (with quite minor exceptions) required to finance the whole range of activities of the Federal Government. This includes the personal and corporate income taxes, excise taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, and other miscellaneous taxes, as well as jurisdiction over borrowing within the debt ceiling which will be described below.

(2) *The bonded debt of the United States.*—The Committee on Ways and Means also has jurisdiction over the extent of the authority of the Federal Government to borrow money within the

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[1] The last sentence of clause 4(g) requires the Committee on Ways and Means to include in its annual March 15 report to the Budget Committee a specific recommendation as to the appropriate level of the public debt which would then be set forth in the concurrent resolution on the budget and serve as the basis for an increase or decrease in the statutory limit on the debt.

[2] This is not intended to be a technically complete or comprehensive description.

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Federal debt ceiling as set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act, the so-called Federal debt ceiling. In this regard, the permanent Federal debt ceiling, as of the close of the 99th Congress, is set at $2,111 billion, with an additional temporary limit of $189 billion for an aggregate limit of $2,300 billion. This jurisdiction also extends to debt management techniques such as the Savings Bond program and authority to issue long-term bonds at interest rates in excess of the statutory limit of 4¼ percent. At the end of the 99th Congress, that authority was limited to $200 billion outstanding and held by the public.

(3) *National social security programs.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has jurisdiction over most of the programs authorized by the Social Security Act, which includes not only those programs that are normally referred to colloquially as "Social Security" but also social insurance programs and a whole series of grant-in-aid programs to State governments for a variety of purposes. The Social Security Act, as amended, contains 20 titles (a few of which have either expired or have been repealed), covering more than 870 pages of existing law in one compilation. The principal programs established by the Social Security Act and under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means in the 99th Congress can be outlined as follows:

(a) Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance (title II)—At present, there are about 120 million workers in employment covered by the program, and as of January 1987, benefits were being paid at a $199.3 billion annual rate to about 37.1 million persons.

(b) Medicare (title XVIII)—Provides hospital insurance benefits to 27.8 million persons over the age of 65 and to 2.9 million disabled persons. Voluntary supplementary medical insurance is provided to 27.9 million aged persons and 2.7 million disabled persons. Expenditures under these programs were $71.4 billion in fiscal year 1985 and are estimated to be $74.1 billion in fiscal year 1986.

(c) Supplemental security income (title XVI)—The SSI program was inaugurated in January 1974 under the provisions of Public Law 92-603, as amended. It replaced the former Federal-State programs for the needy aged, blind, and disabled. In August 1986, approximately 4.2 million people received federally administered benefits under the SSI program. Of these 1.5 million received benefits on the basis of age, 83,000 were blind, and 2.7 million were disabled. Total federally administered payments during calendar year 1984 amounted to approximately $10.4 billion, of which $8.3 billion were basic Federal benefits and $2.1 billion were federally administered State supplements to the payments.

(d) Aid to families with dependent children (title IV)—This program provides grants-in-aid to States for aid to families with dependent children and child welfare services. About 10.8 million people in 3.7 million families received AFDC benefits during fiscal year 1985. Total AFDC payments in fiscal year 1985 were approximately $14.9 billion. In fiscal year 1985, Federal administrative expenditures totaled $0.6 billion for the

child support enforcement program. Child support collections for that year totaled $2.7 billion.

(e) Social services (title XX)—Title XX authorizes the Federal Government to reimburse the States for money spent to provide persons with various services. Generally, the specific services provided are determined by each State. The statutory ceiling on Federal matching funds available to the States for fiscal year 1987 is $2.7 billion. These funds are allocated on the basis of population.

(f) Unemployment compensation programs (titles II, IX, etc.)—these titles include the State unemployment compensation programs and the permanent extended benefits program. In fiscal year 1986, an estimated $15.7 billion was paid in unemployment compensation benefits, with approximately 8.3 million workers receiving unemployment benefits.

(g) Child welfare, foster care and adoption assistance (parts B and E of title IV)—provides funds to States for child welfare services, for abused and neglected children; foster care for AFCD children and adoption assistance for children with special needs.

(4) *Trade and tariff legislation.*—The Committee on Ways and Means has responsibility over legislation relating to tariffs, import trade, and trade negotiations. In the early days of the Republic, tariff and customs receipts were major sources of revenue for the Federal Government. As the committee of jurisdiction over revenue-raising measures, the Committee on Ways and Means thus evolved as the primary committee responsible for international trade policy.

The Constitution vests the power to levy tariffs and to regulate international commerce specifically in the Congress as one of its enumerated powers. Any authority to regulate imports or to negotiate trade agreements must therefore be delegated to the executive branch through legislative action. Statutes such as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Acts beginning in 1934, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the Trade Act of 1974, the Trade Agreements Act of 1979, and the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984 provide the basis for U.S. bargaining with other countries to achieve the mutual reduction of tariff and nontariff trade barriers.

The committee's jurisdiction includes the following authorities and programs:

(a) The tariff schedules and all tariff preference programs, such as the Generalized System of Preferences and the Caribbean Basin Initiative;

(b) Laws dealing with unfair trade practices, including the antidumping law, countervailing duty law, section 301, and section 337;

(c) Other laws dealing with import trade including section 201 (escape clause), section 232 national security controls, section 22 agricultural restrictions, international commodity agreements, and textile restrictions under section 204;

(d) General and specific trade negotiating authority, as well as implementing authority for trade agreements and the grant of most-favored-nation status;

(e) The trade adjustment assistance program;

(f) Customs enforcement and administration, including rules of origin, customs classification, and customs user fees;

(g) Authorization of the budget for the U.S. International Trade Commission, the Customs Service, and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

Foreign trade has burgeoned in recent years, growing from $86 billion in 1970 to $575 billion in 1985. In 1986, two-way trade exceeded $600 billion. As a percent of GNP, foreign trade rose from 7.4 percent in 1970 to almost 17 percent in 1986. Since 1975 the U.S. merchandise trade balance has been in deficit, and in 1986 hit a historic high of over $170 billion.

The committee, in the 99th Congress, exercised its jurisdiction over bills referred to it in the above areas and its oversight responsibilities through its six subcommittees. These subcommittees are the Subcommittee on Trade, the Subcommittee on Oversight, the Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures, the Subcommittee on Health, the Subcommittee on Social Security, and the Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation. The memberships of these subcommittees in the 99th Congress were as follows:

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE

SAM M. GIBBONS, Florida, *Chairman*

DAN ROSTENKOWSKI, Illinois
ED JENKINS, Georgia
THOMAS J. DOWNEY, New York
DON J. PEASE, Ohio
CECIL (CEC) HEFTEL, Hawaii [1]
MARTY RUSSO, Illinois
RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, Missouri
FRANK J. GUARINI, New Jersey
ROBERT T. MATSUI, California [2]
PHILIP M. CRANE, Illinois
BILL ARCHER, Texas
GUY VANDER JAGT, Michigan
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota
DICK SCHULZE, Pennsylvania

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT

J.J. PICKLE, Texas, *Chairman*

FRANK J. GUARINI, New Jersey
BERYL ANTHONY, JR., Arkansas
RONNIE G. FLIPPO, Alabama
BRYON L DORGAN, North Dakota
HAROLD FORD, Tennessee
CECIL (CEC) HEFTEL, Hawaii [1]
JAMES R. JONES, Oklahoma [2]
DICK SCHULZE, Pennsylvania
BILL FRENZEL, Minnesota
WILLIAM M. THOMAS, California
RAYMOND J. MCGRATH, New York

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT REVENUE MEASURES

CHARLES B. RANGEL, New York, *Chairman*

RONNIE G. FLIPPO, Alabama
BYRON L. DORGAN, North Dakota
BARBARA B. KENNELLY, Connecticut
WYCHE FOWLER, JR., Georgia
ROBERT T. MATSUI, California [3]
BERYL ANTHONY, JR., Arkansas [3]
MICHAEL A. ANDREWS, Texas
BRIAN J. DONNELLY, Massachusetts [2]
GUY VANDER JAGT, Michigan
CARROLL A. CAMPBELL, JR., South Carolina
WILLIAM M. THOMAS, California
RAYMOND J. MCGRATH, New York

Subcommittee on Health

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California, *Chairman*

Andy Jacobs, Jr., Indiana
Charles B. Rangel, New York
Brian J. Donnelly, Massachusetts
William J. Coyne, Pennsylvania
J.J. Pickle, Texas
James R. Jones, Oklahoma [3]
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas [2]
Bill Gradison, Ohio
W. Henson Moore, Louisiana
Hal Daub, Nebraska
Judd Gregg, New Hampshire

Subcommittee on Social Security

James R. Jones, Oklahoma, *Chairman*

Andy Jacobs, Jr., Indiana
Richard A. Gephardt, Missouri
Wyche Fowler, Jr., Georgia
Brian J. Donnelly, Massachusetts [3]
William J. Coyne, Pennsylvania
Sam M. Gibbons, Florida
Michael A. Andrews, Texas [2]
Bill Archer, Texas
Philip M. Crane, Illinois
Hal Daub, Nebraska
Judd Gregg, New Hampshire

Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation

Harold Ford, Tennessee, *Chairman*

Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California
Don J. Pease, Ohio
Robert T. Matsui, California
Barbara B. Kennelly, Connecticut
Carroll A. Campbell, Jr., South Carolina
Bill Frenzel, Minnesota
Bill Gradison, Ohio

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[1] Resigned, July 11, 1986.
[2] Assigned, October 9, 1986.
[3] Reassigned, October 9, 1986.

III. HISTORICAL NOTE

The Committee on Ways and Means was first established as an ad hoc committee in the first session of the First Congress, on July 24, 1789. Mr. Fitzsimons, from Pennsylvania, in commenting on the report of a select committee concerning appropriations and revenues, pointed out the desirability of having a committee to review the expenditure needs of the Government and the resources available, as follows:

> The finances of America have frequently been mentioned in this House as being very inadequate to the demands. I have never been of a different opinion, and do believe that the funds of this country, if properly drawn into operation, will be equal to every claim. The estimate of supplies necessary for the current year appears very great from a report on your table, and which report has found its way into the public newspapers. I said, on a former occasion, and I repeat it now, notwithstanding what is set forth in the estimate, that a revenue of $3 million in specie, will enable us to provide every supply necessary to support the Government, and pay the interest and installments on the foreign and domestic debt. If we wish to have more particular information on these points, we ought to appoint a Committee of Ways and Means, to whom, among other things, the estimate of supplies may be referred, and this ought to be done speedily, if we mean to do it this session.

After discussion, the motion was agreed to and the following committee was appointed: Messrs. Fitzsimons (Pennsylvania), Vining (Delaware), Livermore (New Hampshire), Cadwalader (New Jersey), Laurance (New York), Wadsworth (Connecticut), Jackson (Georgia), Smith (Maryland), Smith (South Carolina), and Madison (Virginia).

While there does not appear to be any direct relationship, it is interesting to note that the appointments of this ad hoc committee came within a few weeks after the House, in Committee of the Whole, had spent a good part of the months of April, May, and June in wrestling with the details involved in writing bills "for laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandises imported into the United States" and for imposing duties on tonnage. Tariffs, of course, became a prime revenue source for the new government.

However, the results of this ad hoc committee are not clear. It existed for a period of only 8 weeks, being dissolved on September 17, 1789, with the following order:

> That the Committee on Ways and Means be discharged from further proceeding on the business referred to them,

and that it be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury to report thereon.

It has also been suggested by one student that the committee was dissolved because Alexander Hamilton had become Secretary of the Treasury and thus it was presumed that the Treasury Department could provide the necessary machinery for developing information which would be needed. During the next 6 years there was no Ways and Means Committee or any other standing committee for the examination of estimates. Rather, ad hoc committees were appointed to draw up particular pieces of legislation on the basis of decisions made in the Committee of the Whole House. On November 13, 1794, a rule was adopted providing that:

> All proceedings touching appropriations of money shall be first moved and discussed in a Committee on the Whole House.

In the next Congress historians have suggested that the House was determined to curtail Secretary Hamilton's influence by first setting up a Committee on Ways and Means and requiring that committee to submit a report on appropriations and revenue measures before consideration in the Committee of the Whole House. It was also said that this Ways and Means Committee was put on a more or less standing basis since such a committee appeared at some point in every Congress until it was made a permanent committee.

In the first session of the 7th Congress, Tuesday, December 8, 1801, a resolution was adopted as follows:

> *Resolved*, That a standing Committee of Ways and Means be appointed, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions, relative to the revenue as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon.

The following Members were appointed: Messrs. Randolph (Virginia), Griswold (Connecticut), Smith (Vermont), Bayard (Delaware), Smilie (Pennsylvania), Read (Massachusetts), Nicholson (Maryland), Van Rensselaer (New York), Dickson (Tennessee).

On Thursday, January 7, 1802, the House agreed to standing rules which, among other things, provided for standing committees, including the Committee on Ways and Means. The relevant part of the rules in this respect read as follows:

> A Committee of Ways and Means, to consist of seven members;
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> It shall be the duty of the said Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt, of the revenue, and of the expenditures, and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon; to examine into the state of the sev-

> eral public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements, as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.

It has been said that the jurisdiction of the committee was so broad in the early 19th century that one historian described it as follows:

> It seemed like an Atlas bearing upon its shoulders all the business of the House.

The jurisdiction of the committee remained essentially the same until 1865 when the control over appropriations was transferred to a newly created Committee on Appropriations and another part of its jurisdiction was given to a newly created Committee on Banking and Currency. This action followed rather extended discussion in the House, too lengthy to review here.

During the course of that discussion, however, the following observations are of some historical interest. Mr. Cox, who was handling the motion to divide the committee, gave a very picturesque discussion of the many varied and heavy duties which had fallen on the committee over the years. He observed:

> And yet, sir, powerful as the committee is constituted, even their powers of endurance, physical and mental, are not adequate to the great duty which has been imposed by the emergencies of this historic time. It is an old adage, that "whoso wanteth rest will also want of might"; and even an Olympian would faint and flag if the burden of Atlas is not relieved by the broad shoulders of Hercules.

He continued:

> I might give here a detailed statement of the amount of business thrown upon that committee since the commencement of the war. But I prefer to append it to my remarks. Whereas before the war we scarcely expended more than $70 million a year, now, during the five sessions of the last two Congresses, there has been an average appropriation of at least $800 million per session. The statement which I hold in my hand shows that during the first and extra session of the 37th Congress there came appropriation bills from the Committee on Ways and Means amounting to $226,691,457.99. I say nothing now of the loan and other fiscal bills emanating from that committee. * * * During the present session I suppose it would be a fair estimate to take the appropriations of the last session of the 37th Congress, say $900 million.
>
> These are appropriation bills alone. They are stupendous, and but poorly symbolize the immense labors which the internal revenue, tariff, and loan bills imposed on the committee. * * * And this business of appropriations is perhaps not one-half of the labor of the committee. There

> are various and important matters upon which they act, but upon which they never report. Their duties comprehend all the varied interests of the United States; every element and branch of industry, and every dollar or dime of value. They are connected with taxation, tariffs, banking, loan bills, and ramify to every fiber of the body-politic. All the springs of wealth and labor are more or less influenced by the action of this committee. Their responsibility is immense, and their control almost imperial over the necessities, comforts, homes, hopes, and destinies of the people. All the values of the United States, which in the census of 1860 (page 194) amount to nearly $17 billion, or, to be exact, $16,159,616,068, are affected by the action of that committee, even before their action is approved by the House. Those values fluctuate whenever the head of the Ways and Means rises in his place and proposes a measure. The price of every article we use trembles when he proposes a gold bill or a loan bill, or any bill to tax directly or indirectly. * * *
>
> * * * the interests connected with these economical questions are of all questions those most momentous for the future. Parties, statesmanship, union, stability, all depend upon the manner in which these questions are dealt with.

Congressman Morrill (who was subsequently appointed chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the succeeding Congress, and who still later became chairman of the Senate Finance Committee after he became a Senator) observed as follows:

> I am entirely indifferent as to the disposition which shall be made of this subject by the House. So far as I am myself concerned, I have never sought any position upon any committee from the present or any other Speaker of the House, and probably never shall. I have no disposition to press myself hereafter for any position. In relation to the proposed division of the Committee on Ways and Means, the only doubt that I have is the one expressed by my colleague on that committee, Mr. Stevens, in regard to the separation of the questions of revenue from those relating to appropriations. In ordinary times of peace I should deem it almost indispensable and entirely within their power that this committee should have the control of both subjects, in order that they might make both ends meet, that is, to provide a sufficient revenue for the expenditures. That reason applies now with greater force; but it may be that the committee is overworked. It is true that for the last 3 or 4 years the labors of the Committee on Ways and Means have been incessant, they have labored not only days but nights; not only weekends but Sundays. If gentlemen suppose that the committee have permitted some appropriations to be reported which should not have been permitted they little understand how much has been resisted.

The influence the committee emanated came not only from the nature of its jurisdiction but also because for many years the chairman of the committee was also ad hoc majority floor leader of the House.

When the revolt against Speaker Cannon took place, and the Speaker's powers to appoint the members of committees was curtailed, the Democrats on the Committee on Ways and Means became the Democratic Committee on Committees.

Subsequently, however, in a change adopted by the Democratic Caucus in organizing the 94th Congress, the Caucus Steering and Policy Committee assumed the functions of the Committee on Committees and has retained them to this time.

Throughout its history, many famous Americans have served on the Committee on Ways and Means. The long and distinguished list includes 7 Presidents of the United States, 8 Vice-Presidents, 8 additional Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, 4 Justices of the Supreme Court, at least 30 Cabinet officers, and quite interestingly, 21 Speakers of the House of Representatives. This latter figure represents nearly one-half of the 47 Speakers who have served since 1789 through the end of the 99th Congress. See the alphabetical list which follows for names.

Major positions held by former members of the Committee on Ways and Means

President of the United States:
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- James A. Garfield, Ohio
- Andrew Jackson, Tennessee
- James Madison, Virginia
- William McKinley, Jr., Ohio
- James K. Polk, Tennessee
- John Tyler, Virginia

Vice President of the United States:
- John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky
- George Bush, Texas
- Charles Curtis, Kansas
- Millard Fillmore, New York
- John N. Garner, Texas
- Elbridge Gerry, Massachusetts
- Richard M. Johnson, Kentucky
- John Tyler, Virginia

Justice of the Supreme Court:
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- Joseph McKenna, California
- John McKinley, Alabama
- Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky (Chief Justice)

Speaker of the House of Representatives:
- Nathaniel P. Banks, Massachusetts
- Philip P. Barbour, Virginia
- John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
- Langdon Cheves, South Carolina
- Champ Clark, Missouri
- Howell Cobb, Georgia
- Charles F. Crisp, Georgia

John N. Garner, Texas
John W. Jones, Virginia
Michael C. Kerr, Indiana
Nicholas Longworth, Ohio
John W. McCormack, Massachusetts
James K. Polk, Tennessee
Henry T. Rainey, Illinois
Samuel J. Randall, Pennsylvania
Thomas B. Reed, Maine
Milton Sayler, Ohio
Theodore Sedgwick, Massachusetts
Andrew Stevenson, Virginia
John W. Taylor, New York
Robert C. Winthrop, Massachusetts

Cabinet Member:

Secretary of State:
William J. Bryan, Nebraska
Cordell Hull, Tennessee
Louis McLane, Delaware

Secretary of the Treasury:
George W. Campbell, Tennessee
John G. Carlisle, Kentucky
Howell Cobb, Georgia
Thomas Corwin, Ohio
Charles Foster, Ohio
Albert Gallatin, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Ingham, Pennsylvania
Louis McLane, Delaware
Ogden L. Mills, New York
John Sherman, Ohio
Philip F. Thomas, Maryland
Fred M. Vinson, Kentucky

Secretary of War:
Roger Griswold, Connecticut

Attorney General:
Joseph McKenna, California
A. Mitchell Palmer, Pennsylvania
Caesar A. Rodney, Delaware

Postmaster General:
James M. Campbell, Pennsylvania
Samuel D. Hubbard, Connecticut
Cave Johnson, Tennessee
Horace Maynard, Tennessee

Secretary of the Navy:
Thomas W. Gilmer, Virginia
Hilary A. Herbert, Alabama
Victor H. Metcalf, California
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia

Secretary of the Interior:
Rogers C. B. Morton, Maryland
Jacob Thompson, Mississippi

Secretary of Commerce and Labor:
Victor H. Metcalf, California

IV. STATISTICAL REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS IN THE 99th CONGRESS

A. Number of Bills and Resolutions Referred to the Committee

As of the close of the 99th Congress on October 18, 1986, there had been referred to the committee a total of 1,568 bills, representing almost 21 percent of all the public bills introduced in the House of Representatives.

The following table gives a more complete statistical review since 1965:

TABLE 1.—NUMBER OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO THE COMMITTEE, 89TH THROUGH 99TH CONGRESSES

	Introduced in House	Referred to Committee on Ways and Means	Percentage
89th Congress	21,899	3,161	14.4
90th Congress	24,227	3,806	15.7
91st Congress	23,575	3,442	14.6
92d Congress	20,458	3,157	15.4
93d Congress	21,096	3,370	16.0
94th Congress	19,371	3,747	19.3
95th Congress	17,800	3,922	22.0
96th Congress	10,196	2,337	22.9
97th Congress	9,909	2,377	26.4
98th Congress	8,104	1,904	23.5
99th Congress	7,522	1,568	20.8

B. Public Hearings and Markup Sessions

In the course of the 99th Congress, the full Committee on Ways and Means held public hearings on a total of 44 days, including 40 days in the first session and 4 days in the second session. During the first session, 30 days of public hearings were held on tax reform issues alone. Other major subjects of full committee hearings were Treasury's temporary and proposed regulations relating to recordkeeping for automobiles and certain other property, the United States-Israel Free Trade Area Agreement, tax treatment of imputed interest on deferred payment sales of property, tax aspects of the proposed sale of Conrail to Norfolk Southern Corp., proposals regarding Superfund and related tax provisions, the Technical Corrections Act of 1985 and technical corrections to the Retirement Equity Act of 1984, issues relating to user fees, revenue proposals contained in the President's 1986 budget and other revenue measures, the Water Resources Conservation, Development, and Infrastructure Improvement Act of 1985, a proposal of HUD to require

States to make quarterly wage data available for use in verifying individuals' eligibility for subsidized housing, miscellaneous provisions related to budget reconciliation, immigration legislation, the Highway Trust Fund, and the Palau Compact of Free Association. The full committee also held field hearings in Honolulu, Hawaii, on tax aspects of Superfund coverage of pesticide contamination in groundwater, and in Bismarck and Fargo, N.D., on the Medicare prospective payment system.

The following table specifies the statistical data on the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published on each of the subjects covered by public hearings in the full committee during the 99th Congress:

TABLE 2.--PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE FULL COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and Date	Number of--		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
1985:			
Fundamental tax reform and other tax issues, Feb. 27; Mar. 26	2	10	1
Treasury's temporary and proposed regulations relating to recordkeeping for automobiles and certain other property, Mar. 5	1	46	1
United States-Israel Free Trade Area Agreement, Mar. 6	1	18	1
Tax treatment of imputed interest on deferred payment sales of property, Apr. 24	1	15	1
Tax aspects of the proposed sale of Conrail to Norfolk Southern Corporation, May 1	1	12	1
Proposals regarding Superfund and related tax provisions, May 9	1	25	1
Technical Corrections Act of 1985; and technical corrections to the Retirement Equity Act of 1984, May 16	1	42	1
Comprehensive Tax Reform, May 30; June 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27; July 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31	28	511	9
Tax aspects of Superfund coverage of pesticide contamination in groundwater (held in Honolulu, Hawaii), May 31	1	13	1
User fees, revenue proposals contained in President Reagan's 1986 budget, and other revenue measures, June 19, 20	2	50	1
Water Resources Conservation, Development, and Infrastructure Improvement Act of 1985, Sept 5	1	4	1
Total 1985	40	746	19
1986:			
Proposal of HUD to require States to make quarterly wage data available for use in verifying individuals' eligibility for subsidized housing, June 25	1	4	1
Miscellaneous provisions related to budget reconciliation, immigration legislation, and the Highway Trust Fund, July 22	1	26	1
Medicare prospective payment system, July 28 (held in Bismarck and Fargo, North Dakota), July 28	1	20	1
Palau Compact of Free Association, Sept. 11	1	4	1
Total 1986	4	54	4
Total for both sessions	44	800	23

The six subcommittees of the Committee on Ways and Means were also very active in conducting public hearings during the 99th Congress. The following table specifies in detail the number of days, witnesses, and volumes published by each of the subcommittees:

TABLE 3.--PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Subject and Date	Number of--		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRADE			
1985:			
Fiscal Year 1986 authorizations for the U.S. Customs Service, ITC, and USTR, and trade recommendations for March 15 report to Budget Committee, Feb. 21....	1	32	1
Japanese voluntary restraints on auto exports to the United States, Feb. 28; Mar. 4.....	2	12	1
Current conditions in the textile and apparel industries, Apr. 3; April 5 (held in Helen Georgia); July 15.....	3	52	1
Trade Adjustment Assistance, Apr. 6 (held in Atlanta, Georgia); June 10 (held in Lorain, Ohio).....	2	42	1
Natural resource subsidies, May 14, 15; June 6.....	3	46	1
U.S. trade with Pacific Rim countries, July 18.....	1	8	1
Trade Emergency and Export Promotion Act, Sept. 17.....	1	11	1
1986:			
Certain tariff and trade bills, Feb. 6, 7	2	46	1
Trade policy agenda and outlook for 1986, Feb. 20.....	1	1	1
Telecommunications Trade Act of 1985, Mar. 11, 13.....	2	18	1
Trade reform legislation, Mar. 20, 21; Apr. 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17.....	8	112	2
MFN trading status for the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the People's Republic of China, June 10	1	23	1
Requirements of the manufacturing clause of the copyright law, June 26.....	1	12	1
International Drug Enforcement Act, Aug. 5.....	1	4	1
United States in the international economy, Sept. 24.....	1	4	1
Results of the GATT Ministerial Meeting held in Punta Del Este, Uruguay, Sept. 25.....	1	1	1
Total	31	424	17

TABLE 3.--PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS--Continued

Subject and Date	Number of-- Days	Witnesses	Volumes
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT			
1985:			
IRS tax payment posting problems in Philadelphia Service Center, Mar. 11...	1	17	1
Tax aspects of acquisitions and mergers (held jointly with Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures), Apr. 1, 2, 16.....	3	26	1
Administration's Fiscal Year 1986 budget proposals relating to IRS, Apr. 29.....	1	16	1
IRS tax refund delays, June 21.....	1	2	1
Tax-exempt multifamily rental housing bonds, June 21; Aug. 1.....	2	22	1
Retirement income security in the United States (held jointly with Subcommittee on Social Security), July 18; Sept. 5, 6.....	3	47	1
Money laundering operations and the role of the Department of the Treasury, Sept. 12.....	1	11	1
Use of tax refund offsets to collect nontax Federal debts, Sept. 19.....	1	6	1
High-income taxpayers and related partnership tax issues, Sept. 20.....	1	4	1
Tax-exempt status of private schools, Nov. 1.....	1	8	1
IRS plans for Service Center operations in 1986, Dec. 16.....	1	7	1
1986:			
Review of the impact and effectivness of the Caribbean Basin Initiative, Feb. 25, 24.....	2	46	1
1986 tax filing season, Mar. 4.....	1	7	1
Costs and availability of liability insurance, Mar. 13, 17, 24; Apr. 28....	4	65	2
Recent developments regarding the tax-exempt status of certain private schools, Apr. 28.....	1	5	1
Administration's Fiscal Year 1987 budget proposals relating to the Internal Revenue Service, May 12.....	1	11	1
IRS Art Advisory Panel, June 3.....	1	9	1
Pension plan underfunding (held jointly with Subcommittee on Social Security), June 24.....	1	17	1
Compliance with Federal gasoline excise tax provisions, July 15.....	1	19	1
Total	28	345	20

TABLE 3.--PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS--Continued

Subject and Date	Number of--		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT REVENUE MEASURES			
1985:			
Extension of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, Mar. 19	1	31	1
Tax aspects of acquisitions and mergers (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), Apr. 1, 2, 16	3	26	1
Award of attorney's fees in tax cases, Apr. 25	1	9	1
Carryover of net operating losses and other tax attributes of corporations, May 22	1	13	1
Tax burdens of low-income wage earners, June 6	1	19	1
Legislation affecting rural letter carriers, June 10	1	7	1
Tobacco Equalization Act of 1985 (held jointly with House Committee on Agriculture), July 18	1	26	1
1986:			
Miscellaneous tax bills, May 12, 19	2	57	1
Issues relating to pass-through entities, June 9, 10	2	27	1
Total	13	215	9
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH			
1985:			
Medicare and Medicaid issues: Medicare and Medicaid Patient and Program Protection Act--Medical Imposters Act (held jointly with Committee on Energy and Commerce), Mar. 19	1	11	1
1986 Medicare budget issues, Apr. 1, 15, 16	3	29	1
Issues relating to Medicare hospital payments, May 14	1	19	1
Medicare reimbursement for cataract surgery, Aug. 1	1	11	1
1986:			
Medicare reimbursement for capital expenses, Feb. 24	1	20	1
Catastrophic coverage under Medicare, Feb. 25	1	16	1
1987 Medicare budget issues, Mar. 6	1	21	1
Medicare reimbursement for physician services, Apr. 14	1	12	1
Issues relating to Medicare contracting, Apr. 22	1	11	1
Medicare Quality Protection Act of 1986, Apr. 23	1	18	1

TABLE 3.--PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS--Continued

Subject and Date	Number of--		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
Health Care Improved Access Act of 1986, June 9	1	27	1
Out-of-pocket costs for physician services under Medicare Part B, June 10	1	13	1
Total	14	208	12
SOCIAL SECURITY			
1985:			
Minor improvements and technical changes in the Social Security Act, Apr. 1	1	4	1
Delivery and quality of public services furnished by the Social Security Administration, April 3; Apr. 11 (held in Tulsa, Oklahoma)	2	32	1
Social Security as an independent agency, Apr. 23	1	18	1
Implementation of the Social Security Disability Amendments of 1984, June 6	1	18	1
Retirement income security in the United States (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), July 18; Sept. 5, 6	3	47	1
Disinvestment of the social security trust funds to finance the public debt, Oct. 30	1	3	1
1986:			
Quality of delivery of services by the Social Security Administration, disinvestment of the social security trust funds, and the Social Security Administration as an independent agency, Jan 27 (held in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma)	1	21	1
Legislative proposals to prohibit disinvestment of the social security trust funds, Feb. 18	1	8	1
Current problems in the social security hearings and appeals process, Mar. 18	1	13	1
Pension plan underfunding (held jointly with Subcommittee on Oversight), June 24	1	17	1
Total	13	181	10
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION			
1985:			
Federal Supplemental Compensation program, Feb. 20, 21, 26	3	37	1

TABLE 3.--PUBLIC HEARINGS CONDUCTED BY THE SUBCOMMITTEES OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS--Continued

Subject and Date	Number of--		
	Days	Witnesses	Volumes
State requests for "good faith" waivers of fiscal disallowances for erroneous payments in the AFDC program for Fiscal Year 1981, Apr. 25	1	2	1
Poverty and hunger in America, Apr. 30	1	5	1
Teenage pregnancy issues, May 7	1	25	1
Children in poverty, May 22	1	5	1
Amendments to the AFDC quality control program, June 21	1	5	1
Railroad Unemployment Insurance program, July 15	1	3	1
Amendments to the foster care and adoption assistance program, Sept. 19	1	17	1
1986:			
Pregnancy among black teenagers, Feb. 18.	1	4	1
President's AFDC work proposals and the White House Domestic Policy Council evaluation of Federal welfare programs, Feb. 27	1	6	1
Work, education, and training opportunities for welfare recipients, Mar 13, 20; Apr. 22; May 22; June 17	5	29	1
Alternative uses of the unemployment compensation trust funds to assist dislocated workers, Mar. 18	1	21	1
Poverty in the South and Southern States; programs designed to break the cycle of poverty, June 9 (held in Memphis, Tennessee)	1	10	1
Extended unemployment compensation program, June 24	1	9	1
Proposals to improve the Supplemental Security Income program, Sept. 17	1	6	1
Emergency assistance for temporary and permanent housing for homeless families, Dec. 12 (held in New York, New York)	1	16	1
Total	22	200	16
Total for all subcommittees	121	1573	84

As can be seen from the foregoing statistics, during the 99th Congress the full committee and its six subcommittees held public hearings aggregating a grand total of 158 days, during which time 2,283 witnesses were heard resulting in the publication of 104 printed volumes of testimony. Included in this total are hearings which were jointly held by two or more subcommittees or with other House committees. These joint hearings comprised 9 days of testimony with 127 witnesses and resulted in 5 volumes of printed testimony.

In addition, written comments were printed after having been requested and received by the Subcommittee on Trade on numerous tariff and trade bills and on United States-Canada free trade negotiations.

With respect to markup or business sessions during the 99th Congress, the full committee and its six subcommittees were also very actively engaged. The full committee held such sessions on 58 working days, usually both morning and afternoon sessions, and the subcommittees an aggregate of 21 working days, making a grand total of 79 working days of markup or business sessions for the committee and its subcommittees during the 99th Congress.

C. Number and Final Status of Bills Reported From the Committee on Ways and Means in the 99th Congress

During the 99th Congress the committee reported favorably to the House a total of 27 bills. Forty-six bills containing provisions within the purview of the committee were passed by the House and 31 were enacted into law. It should be noted that this total is not at all indicative of the total number of bills considered by the committee, because when the committee goes into session on major tax, tariff, social security, health, unemployment compensation, or public assistance matters, it very often considers the broad subject rather than certain specific bills, and in the course of consideration of the subject makes every attempt to review all of the pertinent bills pending before the committee which are encompassed within that subject. Further, it is the practice of the committee normally to report bills on a major subject which may involve many, many sections containing subjects included in perhaps as many as several hundred bills pending before the committee.

V. CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEE FROM THE 1st THROUGH THE 99th CONGRESSES

A. Chairmen of the Committee on Ways and Means, 1789 to Present

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Thomas Fitzsimons	Pennsylvania	Federalist	1789 to 1795.
William Smith	South Carolina	do	1795 to 1797.
Robert G. Harper	do	do	1797 to 1799.
Roger Griswold	Connecticut	do	1799 to 1801.
John Randolph	Virginia	States Rights	1801 to 1805.
Joseph Clay	Pennsylvania	[1]	1805 to 1807.
George W. Campbell	Tennessee	Democrat	1807 to 1809.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1809 to 1811.
Langdon Cheves	South Carolina	do	1811 to 1813.
John W. Eppes	Virginia	do	1813 to 1815.
William Lowndes	South Carolina	do	1815 to 1819.
Samuel Smith	Maryland	do	1819 to 1823.
Louis McLane	Delaware	do	1823 to 1827.
George McDuffie	South Carolina	do	1827 to 1831.
Gulian C. Verplanck	New York	do	1831 to 1833.
James K. Polk	Tennessee	do	1833 to 1835.
C. C. Cambreleng	New York	do	1835 to 1839.
John W. Jones	Virginia	do	1839 to 1841.
Millard Fillmore	New York	Whig	1841 to 1843.
James Iver McKay	North Carolina	Democrat	1843 to 1847.
Samuel F. Vinton	Ohio	Whig	1847 to 1849.
Thomas H. Bayly	Virginia	States Rights Democrat	1849 to 1851.
George S. Houston	Alabama	Democrat	1851 to 1855.
Lewis D. Campbell	Ohio	Whig	1855 to 1857.
J. Clancy Jones	Pennsylvania	Democrat	1857 to 1859.
John S. Phelps	Missouri	do	Do.
John Sherman	Ohio	Republican	1859 to 1861.
Thaddeus Stevens	Pennsylvania	do	July 1861 to March 1865.
Justin S. Morrill	Vermont	Whig	December 1865 to March 1867.
Robert C. Schenck	Ohio	Republican	January 1867 to March 1871.
Godlove S. Orth	Indiana	do	January 1871 to March 1871.
Henry L. Dawes	do	do	December 1871 to March 1875.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	December 1875 to March 1877.
Fernando Wood	New York	do	October 1877 to March 1881.
William D. Kelly	Pennsylvania	Republican	December 1881 to March 1883.
William R. Morrison	Illinois	Democrat	December 1883 to March 1887.
Roger Q. Mills	Texas	do	January 1887 to March 1889.
William McKinley, Jr	Ohio	Republican	December 1891 to March 1893.
William L. Wilson	West Virginia	Democrat	August 1893 to March 1895.
Nelson Dingley, Jr	Maine	Republican	December 1895 to March 1899.
Sereno E. Payne	New York	do	December 1899 to March 1911.
Oscar W. Underwood	Alabama	Democrat	April 1911 to March 1915.
Claude Kitchin	North Carolina	do	December 1915 to March 1919.
Joseph W. Fordney	Michigan	Republican	May 1919 to March 1923.
William R. Green	Iowa	do	December 1923 to March 1929.
Willis C. Hawley	Oregon	do	April 1929 to March 1931.
James W. Collier	Mississippi	Democrat	December 1931 to March 1933.
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	do	March 1933 to 1947.

Name	State	Party	Term of service
Harold Knutson	Minnesota	Republican	1947 to 1948
Robert L. Doughton	North Carolina	Democrat	1949 to 1952
Daniel A. Reed	New York	Republican	1953 to 1954
Jere Cooper	Tennessee	Democrat	1955 to 1957
Wilbur D. Mills	Arkansas	do	1958 to 1974
Al Ullman	Oregon	do	1975 to 1980
Dan Rostenkowski	Illinois	do	1981 to

[1] Not known

B. Tables Showing Past Membership of the Committee

1. Members of the Committee on Ways and Means from the 1st through 99th Congress, by State

	Congress
Alabama:	
John McKinley	23
David Hubbard	26
Dixon H. Lewis	27–28
George H. Houston	29–30, 32–33
James F. Dowdell	35
Hilary A. Herbert	48
Joseph Wheeler	53–55
Oscar W. Underwood	59–63
Ronnie G. Flippo	98–
Arkansas:	
James K. Jones	48
Clifton R. Breckinridge	49–51, 53
William A. Oldfield	64–70
Heartsill Ragon	70–73
Charles A. Fuller	73–75
Wilbur D. Mills	78–94
Jim Guy Tucker	95
Beryl Anthony, Jr.	97–
California:	
Joseph McKenna	51
Victor H. Metcalf	57–58
James Carson Needham	58–62
William E. Evans	73
Frank H. Buck	74–77
Bertrand W. Gearhart	76–80
Cecil R. King	78–79, 81–90
James B. Utt	83, 86–91
Jerry L. Pettis	91–94
William M. Ketchum	94–95
James C. Corman	90–96
John H. Rousselot	95–97
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark	94–
Robert T. Matsui	97–
William M. Thomas	98–
Colorado:	
Robert W. Bonynge	60
Charles B. Timberlake	66–72
John A. Carroll	81

Donald G. Brotzman 92–93

Connecticut:

Jermemiah Wadsworth 1
James Hillhouse 4
Nathaniel Smith 4–5
Joshua Coit 5
Roger Griswold 5–8
John Davenport 8
Jonathan O. Moseley 9, 14, 16
Benjamin Tallmadge 10–11
Timothy Pitkin 12–13, 15
Ralph I. Ingersoll 21–22, 24
Samuel D. Hubbard 30
James Phelps 45–46
Charles A. Russell 54–57
Ebenezer J. Hill 57–62, 64
John Q. Tilson 66–68
Antoni N. Sadlak 83–85
William R. Cotter 94–97
Barbara B. Kennelly 98–

Delaware:

John Vining 1
John Patten 4
James A. Bayard 5, 7
Caesar R. Rodney 8
Louis McLane 16–19

Florida:

A. S. Herlong, Jr 84–90
L. A. (Skip) Bafalis 94–97
Sam M. Gibbons 91–

Georgia:

James Jackson 1
Abraham Baldwin 4–5
Benjamin Taliaferro 6
John Milledge 7
David Meriwether 8–9
William W. Bibb 12–13
Joel Abbott 15
Joel Crawford 15–16
Wiley Thompson 17–18
George R. Gilmer 20
Richard H. Wilde 22–23
George W. Owens 24–25
Charles E. Haynes 25
Charles E. Webster 25
Mark A. Cooper 26
Asalom H. Chappell 28
Seaborn Jones 29
Robert Toombs 30–31
Alexander H. Stephens 30–31, 33
Marshall J. Wellborn 31
Howell Cobb 34
Martin J. Crawford 35–36

Benjamin H. Hill 44
Henry R. Harris 45, 49
William H. Felton 46
Emory Speer 47
James H. Blount 48
Henry G. Turner 50–54
Charles F. Crisp 54
James M. Griggs 60
William G. Brantley 61–62
Charles R. Crisp 64–72
A. Sidney Camp 78–83
Phil Landrum 89–94
Ed Jenkins 95–
Wyche Fowler, Jr 96–99

Hawaii:
Cecil (Cec) Heftel 96–99

Illinois:
Daniel P. Cook 19
John A. McClernand 37
John Wentworth 39
John A. Logan 40
Samuel S. Marshall 41
Horatio C. Burchard 42–45
William R. Morrison 44, 46–49
William M. Springer 52
Albert J. Hopkins 52–57
Henry S. Boutell 58–61
Henry T. Rainey 62–66, 68–72
John A. Sterling 65
Ira C. Copley 66–67
Carl R. Chindblom 68–72
Chester Thompson 74–75
Raymond S. McKeough 76–77
Charles S. Dewey 78
Thomas J. O'Brien 79, 81–88
Noah M. Mason 80–87
Harold Collier 88–93
Dan Rostenkowski 88–
Abner J. Mikva 94–96
Philip Crane 94–
Marty Russo 96–

Indiana:
David Wallace 27
Cyrus L. Dunham 32
William E. Niblack 40, 43
Godlove S. Orth 41
Michael C. Kerr 42
Thomas M. Browne 48–50
William D. Bynum 50, 53
Benjamin F. Shively 52
George W. Steele 54–57
James E. Watson 58–60
Edgar D. Crumpacker 61

Lincoln Dixon 62–65
Harry C. Canfield 71–72
John W. Boehne, Jr 73–77
Robert A. Grant 80
Andy Jacobs, Jr 94–

Iowa:
John A. Kasson 38, 43, 47–48
William B. Allison 39–41
John H. Gear 51, 53
Jonathan P. Dolliver 54–56
William R. Green 63–70
C. William Ramseyer 70–71
Otha D. Wearin 75
Lloyd Thurston 75
Thomas E. Martin 80–83

Kansas:
Dudley C. Haskell 47
Chester I. Long 56–57
Charles Curtis 58–59
William A. Calderhead 60–61
Victor Murdock 63
Guy T. Helvering 65
Frank Carlson 76–79
Martha Keys 94–95

Kentucky:
Christopher Greenup 4
Thomas T. Davis 5
John Boyle 8
Richard M. Johnson 11–12
Thomas Montgomery 13
David Trimble 15–16
Nathan Gaither 22
John Pope 25
Thomas F. Marshall 27
Charles S. Morehead 30–31
John C. Breckinridge 33
Robert Mallory 38
James B. Beck 42–43
Henry Watterson 44
John G. Carlisle 46–47, 51
Joseph C.S. Blackburn 48
W.C.P. Breckinridge 49–50
Alexander B. Montgomery 52–53
Walter Evans 54–55
Ollie M. James 62
August O. Stanley 63
Fred M. Vinson 72–75
Noble J. Gregory 78–85
John C. Watts 86–92

Louisiana:
Thomas B. Robertson 14
William L. Brent 19–20
Walter H. Overton 21

Lionel A. Sheldon 43
Randall L. Gibson 45–46
Charles J. Boatner 54
Samuel M. Robertson 55–59
Robert F. Broussard 61
Whitmell P. Martin 65–70
Paul H. Maloney 76, 78–79
Hale Boggs 81–91
Joe D. Waggonner, Jr 92–95
W. Henson Moore 96–99

Maine:
Peleg Sprague 19–20
Francis O.J. Smith 24
George Evans 26
Israel Washburn 36
William P. Frye 46
Thomas B. Reed 48–50, 52–53
Nelson Dingley, Jr 51, 54–55
Daniel J. McGillicuddy 64

Maryland:
William Smith 1
William Vans Murry 4
William Hindman 4–5
William Craik 5
Joseph H. Nicholson 6–9
Nicholas R. Moore 8
Roger Nelson 9
John Montgomery 10–11
Alexander McKim 13
Stevenson Archer 13
Samuel Smith 14–17
Isaac McKim 18, 23–25
H. Winter Davis 34–36
Philip F. Thomas 44
Rogers C.B. Morton 91

Massachusetts:
Elbridge Gerry 1
Theordore Sedgwick 4
Theophilus Bradbury 4
Harrison Gray Otis 5–6
Samuel Sewall 5
Isaac Parker 5
Bailey Bartlett 6
Nathan Read 7
Seth Hastings 8
Josiah Quincy 9
Ezekiel Bacon 11–12
Ebenezer Seaver 11
Henry Shaw 16
Henry W. Dwight 19–21
Benjamin Gorham 23
Abbott Lawrence 24, 26
Richard Fletcher 25

George N. Briggs 25
Leverett Saltonstall 26
Robert C. Winthrop 29
Charles Hudson 30
George Ashmun 31
William Appleton 32-33, 37
Alexander DeWitt 34
Nathaniel P. Banks 35, 45
Samuel Hooper 37-41
Henry L. Dawes 42-43
Chester W. Chapin 44
William A. Russell 48-49
Moses T. Stevens 52-53
Samuel W. McCall 56-62
Andrew J. Peters 62-63
Augustus P. Gardner 63-64
Allen T. Treadway 65-78
Peter F. Tague 67-68
John W. McCormack 72-76
Arthur D. Healey 77
Charles L. Gifford 79
Angier L. Goodwin 80, 82-83
James A. Burke 87-95
James M. Shannon 96-98
Brian J. Donnelly 99-

Michigan:
William A. Howard 34-36
Austin Blair 41
Henry Waldron 43
Omar C. Conger 46
William C. Maybury 49
Julius C. Burrows 50-53
Justin R. Whiting 52-53
William A. Smith 59
Joseph W. Fordney 60-67
James C. McLaughlin 68-72
Roy O. Woodruff 73-82
John D. Dingell 74-84
Victor A. Knox 83, 86-88
Thaddeus M. Machrowicz 84-87
Martha W. Griffiths 87-93
Charles E. Chamberlain 91-93
Richard F. Vander Veen 93-94
William M. Brodhead 95-97
Guy Vander Jagt 94-

Minnesota:
Mark H. Dunnell 46-47
James A. Tawney 54-58
James T. McCleary 59
Sydney Anderson 63
Winfield S. Hammond 62-63
Harold Knutson 73-80
Eugene J. McCarthy 84-85

Joseph E. Karth 92-94
Bill Frenzel 94-

Mississippi:
Jacob Thompson 31
John Sharp Williams 58-59
James W. Collier 63-72
Aaron Lane Ford 77

Missouri:
James S. Green 31
John S. Phelps 32-37
Henry T. Blow 38
John Hogan 39
Gustavus A. Finkelnburg 42
John C. Tarsney 53-54
Seth W. Cobb 54
Champ Clark 58-61
Dorsey W. Shackleford 62-63
Clement C. Dickinson 63-66, 68-70, 72-73
Charles L. Faust 69-70
Richard M. Duncan 74-77
Thomas B. Curtis 83-90
Frank M. Karsten 84-90
Richard A. Gephardt 95-

Montana:
Lee Metcalf 86
James F. Battin 89-91

Nebraska:
William J. Byran 52-53
Charles H. Sloan 63-65
Ashton C. Shallenberger 73
Carl T. Curtis 79-83
Hal Daub 99-

Nevada:
Francis G. Newlands 56-57

New Hampshire:
Samuel Livermore 1
Nicholas Gilman 4
Abiel Foster 5
Nathaniel A. Haven 11
Henry Hubbard 23
Charles G. Atherton 25-27
Moses Norris, Jr 28-29
Harry Hibbard 31-33
Judd Gregg 99-

New Jersey:
Lambert Cadwalader 1
Isaac Smith 4
Thomas Sinnickson 5
William Coxe 13
John L. N. Stratton 37
William Hughes 62
Issac Bacharach 66-74
Donald H. McLean 76-77
Robert W. Kean 78-85

Henry Helstoski 94
Frank J. Guarini 96–
New York:
John Laurance 1
Ezekiel Gilbert 4
James Cochran 5
Hezekiah L. Hosmer 5
Jonas Platt 6
Killian K. Van Rensselaer 7
Joshua Sands 8
Gaylord Griswold 8
Erastus Root 11
John W. Taylor 13–14
Jonathan Fisk 13
Thomas J. Oakley 13
James W. Wilkin 14
James Tallmadge, Jr 15
Albert H. Tracy 16
Nathaniel Pitcher 17
Churchill C. Cambreleng 17–18, 23–25
Dudley Marvin 19
Gulian C. Verplanck 20–22
Aaron Vanderpoel 26
Millard Filmore 27
Daniel D. Barnard 28
David L. Seymour 28
Orville Hungerford 29
Henry Nicoll 30
James Brooks 31–32
William Duer 31
Soloman G. Haven 33
Russell Sage 34
John Kelley 35
Eldbridge G. Spaulding 36–37
Eratus Corning 37
Reuben E. Fenton 38
DeWitt C. Littlejohn 38
Henry G. Stebbins 38
John V. L. Pruyn 38
James Brooks 39–40, 42
Roscoe Conkling 39
John H. Winfield 39
John A. Griswold 40–41
Dennis McCarthy 41
Ellis H. Roberts 42–43
Fernando Wood 43–46
Abraham S. Hewitt 48–49
Frank Hiscock 48–49
Sereno E. Payne 51–53
Roswell P. Flower 51
W. Bourke Cochran 52–53, 58–60
George B. McClellan 55–57
John W. Dwight 61

Francis B. Harrison 61-63
Michael F. Conry 63-64
George W. Fairchild 64-65
John F. Carew 65-70
Luther W. Mott 66-67
Alanson B. Houghton 67
Ogden L. Mills 67-69
Frank Crowther 68-77
Thaddeus C. Sweet 70
Frederick M. Davenport 70-71
Thomas H. Cullen 71-77
Christopher D. Sullivan 72-76
Daniel A. Reed 73-86
Walter A. Lynch 78-81
Eugene J. Keogh 82, 83-89
Albert H. Bosch 86
Steven B. Derounian 87-88
Jacob H. Gilbert 90-91
Hugh L. Carey 91-93
Otis G. Pike 93-95
Barber B. Conable, Jr 90-98
Charles B. Rangel 94-
Thomas J. Downey 96-
Raymond J. McGrath 99-

North Carolina:
Thomas Blount 4-5
Robert Williams 5
David Stone 6
James Holland 7
Willis Alston 10-11, 13
William Gaston 13-14
Abraham Rencher 25, 27
Henry W. Conner 26
James J. McKay 28-30
Edward Stanly 32
William M. Robbins 45
Edward W. Pou 60-61
Claude Kitchin 62-67
Robert L. Doughton 69-82
James G. Martin 94-98

North Dakota:
Martin N. Johnson 54-55
George M. Young 66-68
Byron L. Dorgan 98-

Ohio:
William Creighton 13
Thomas Corwin 23-24
Thomas L. Hamer 25
Samson Mason 26-27
John B. Weller 28
Samuel F. Vinton 29-31
Lewis D. Campbell 34-35
John Sherman 36

Valentine B. Horton 37
George H. Pendleton 38
James A. Garfield 39, 44-46
Robert C. Shenck 40-41
Charles Foster 43
Milton Sayler 45
William McKinley, Jr 46-47, 49-51
Frank H. Hurd 48
Charles H. Grosvenor 53-59
Nicholas Longworth 60-62, 64-67
Timothy T. Ansberry 62-63
Alfred G. Allen 64
George White 65
Charles C. Kearns 68-71
Charles West 73
Thomas A. Jenkins 73-85
Arthur P. Lamneck 74-75
Stephen M. Young 81
Jackson E. Betts 86-92
Donald D. Clancy 93-94
Charles A. Vanik 89-96
Bill Gradison 95-
Don J. Pease 97-

Oklahoma:
Thomas A. Chandler 67
James V. McClintic 73
Wesley E. Disney 74-78
James R. Jones 94-99

Oregon:
William R. Ellis 61
Willis C. Hawley 65-72
Al Ullman 87-96

Pennsylvania:
Thomas Fitzsimons 1
Albert Gallatin 4-6
Henry Woods 6
John Smilie 6-7, 10-12
Joseph Clay 8-9
John Rea 11
Jonathan Roberts 12-13
Samuel D. Ingham 13-14, 18
John Sergeant 15, 25
John Ross 16
John Tod 17
John Gilmore 21-22
Horace Binney 23
Richard Biddle 26
Joseph R. Ingersoll 27-29
James Pollock 30
Moses Hampton 31
J. Glancy Jones 32, 35
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[1] Resigned, July 11, 1986.
[2] Assigned, July 29, 1986.

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